BETTER DEAD *by E. U. Condon*

THE NATION

DECEMBER 2, 1961 . . 25c

TEACHERS CHOOSE A UNION

Focus on the New York Vote

Myron Lieberman

CONGRESSMEN in UNIFORM

Jerry Greene

HIRED BRAINS for the BRASS

Wesley Marx

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LETTERS

'JUGGERNAUT' at Work

Dear Sirs: A belated bravo for Fred J. Cook and his "JUGGERNAUT" [Oct. 28] from one who only weeks ago witnessed a type of situation which met former President Eisenhower's description of an "unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex."

The local Junior Chamber of Commerce, working partially with John Birchers, put on a so-called "Americanism Seminar." For this event, the U. S. Fourth Army recalled a civilian public-relations expert back to uniform with Army pay to help promote the program. Then the Army wrote a letter to Reservists saying, ". . . retirement point credit will be awarded Army Reserve personnel who attend the seminar."

On the day following the seminar, I issued the following statement to San Antonio papers: "We have just witnessed the spectacle of the U. S. Army . . . sponsoring, or assisting, or commending W. Cleon Skouson, who reflected on the patriotism of Franklin Roosevelt and in effect called Harry Hopkins a traitor; former Congressman Donald Jackson, who attacked the Methodist Church and the National Council of Churches; and General Albert Wedemeyer, who denounced the Episcopal Church for seeking justice for the Negro through the Freedom Riders, and who intimated that President Kennedy was not meeting the problem of communism with adequate courage."

The Juggernaut Mr. Cook wrote about is indeed a threat. We felt it and saw it here in Old Saint Anthony's town.

MAURY MAVERICK, JR.
San Antonio, Tex.

Misleading Premise?

Dear Sirs: Recent criticism of *Life's* absurd 97 per cent survival figures overlooked the indecent fraud involved. A careful reading will divulge that *Life's* figures were based on a hypothetical attack on "missile and SAC bases" in the United States. One wonders whether the President, in endorsing the figure, intended to lend support to the absurd idea that an attack on this country would be launched on SAC bases only.

Ironically, the November 17 issue of *Life,* in an editorial entitled "Block That Phony Statistic," accuses *The Nation* (October 31, 1959) of distorting statistics in its estimate of the number of rats in New York City. Perhaps *The Nation* presciently included in its figures those parasitical periodicals which fraudulently add to the confusion on vital subjects.

JERRY STERN
Syracuse, N.Y.

Col. Hutton's Offer

Colonel Tom R. Hutton, USAFR, Ret., has asked that the following communication be printed:

SPX RESEARCH ASSOCIATES WILL PAY TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS ($10,000.00) to any person or persons who can prove, within the standard procedures of American courts and the rules of evidence, that Col. Tom R. Hutton, Chief of Staff of SPX Research Associates (1) is now, or ever has been "a member of the John Birch Society," (2) has ever been, at any time, directly or indirectly, "an associate of Gerald L. K. Smith in the Christian Nationalist Crusade" as untruthfully, maliciously and libelously alleged by Alex Gottfried and Sue Davidson on page 50, column 2 of the issue of *The Nation* dated July 29, 1961.

(Signed) TOM R. HUTTON
Colonel, USAFR, Ret.
Chief of Staff, SPXRA
East Stanwood, Wash.

We are always happy to run disclaimers of membership in the John Birch Society or of association with Gerald L. K. Smith.—ED.

On Shelters

Dear Sirs: As pointed out in your excellent articles on shelters [Nov. 4], a most important purpose of our national civil defense program is to increase "first-strike credibility." Have our policy makers considered the value of building a very deep shelter at our Embassy in Moscow? Surely this would add to "credibility." The British and French could do the same; this would show NATO "solidarity." When we wanted to put special pressure on the Soviets, our Moscow Embassy staffs could rush to their shelters in "routine drills."

WILLIAM M. ALEXANDER
San Luis Obispo, Calif.

Dear Sirs: After your recent articles concerning fallout shelters, I thought that some of your readers might be interested in what is actually happening in the fallout-shelter program on a local level. In Ithaca, New York, on November 3, Mrs. Doris Spaulding, the director of the Tompkins County Civil Defense Committee, held a "civil defense workshop" in the Women's Community Building. The announced topic: How to build fallout shelters. The meeting opened with a showing of the film *Communism on the Map,* which presents a John Birch-type viewpoint of the cold war. Mrs. Spaulding refused to entertain dissenting discussion of the film and went on with the "workshop."

I'd like to ask: Is it really necessary to sell people on extreme right-wing propaganda while you're selling them on fallout shelters?

Ithaca, N.Y. PETER L. GALE

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1961
VOLUME 193, No. 19

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Uses of John Birch

The John Birch Society and similar groups have no doubt given bad moments to some of their local victims, but on the national scene they have done the country an inadvertent service. For one thing, they have lifted the blanket of political apathy which, except at election time, normally lies over the country. The chief benefit of their ministrations, however, has been that of caricature. The ultra-conservative yearning to go back to the simplicities and moral virtues (mostly imaginary) of past centuries is an *ignis fatuus* that attracts a great many minds. But when it is coupled with proposals to repeal the income tax (while continuing to spend $60 billion a year on armaments and space exploration), impeach the Chief Justice of the United States as a Communist or fellow-traveler, and bring Dwight D. Eisenhower to book for possibly carrying a party card, the spell is broken. The citizen scratches his head and returns to his senses.

No one can be reactionary enough to satisfy the true reactionary. In Phoenix, a staunchly conservative, efficient, city government has been the envy of other American municipalities. In the last election, Mayor Samuel Mardian, Jr., and the incumbent councilmen nevertheless found themselves in a savage struggle with an ultra-ultra-conservative outfit called the Stay American Committee. This group was organized in October, shortly before the election, to "combat Communism in Phoenix." It decided that the Phoenix city-manager system was a plot devised by the National Municipal League, which *Time* describes as "a thoroughly respectable association of U.S. civic leaders who work for such reforms as urban renewal, Metro government and modern budgeting." In the eyes of the Stay American Committee, the league was "uninformed about Communism" and the city-manager system, among other league aims, furthered "the aims of internationalism and Communism." At a press conference, a reporter asked the Stay American candidate for mayor if this was intended to apply to Senator Barry Goldwater, who is a regional vice president of the league. The answer was: "I believe every single one of them is uninformed." "Uninformed," of course, is a euphemism for "soft on communism."

The incumbents won by 32,880 to 13,019; but, even so, the vote indicates that Phoenix assays fairly high in political idiots.

The uses of the Birch Society, however, consist in more than the good work they have done in helping to break the hypnotic spell of the professional "anti-Communist." This year's contributions to UNICEF may break a record, thanks in no small measure to the grotesque opposition of the Birchites. If the Birchites continue their "agit-prop" activities at the current pitch of enthusiasm, it may be possible to recognize China, strengthen the United Nations, improve mental-health facilites, reform the tax structure and work other political miracles. If they keep at it, the Birchites may even make it possible for the Democrats to score heavily in next year's Congressional elections. In his Los Angeles speech, the President very shrewdly picked his target for the campaign and his aim was never sharper. And he can count, we may be sure, on the splendid cooperation of the leaders and members of the John Birch Society. Extremists, on occasion, do have their uses.

'Return to Sender'

The masterminds of the Office of Emergency Planning, which is attached to the White House, and the Office of Civil Defense, which lucubrates in the Pentagon, will shortly reveal their most profound thoughts and ripest wisdom on the suddenly controversial subject of shelters. The handbook on the subject, which the President promised the people some time back, will go to the printers within a week or so. Sixty million copies will be run off and should reach addressees in time to serve as an informal, and somewhat novel, Christmas greeting from the Administration. *The New York Times* reports that this authoritative publication, prepared with the help of Time, Inc., has become a "nightmare preoccupation" of its authors. It has

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consumed "an inordinate amount of time and energy at the highest levels of Government," with helpful kibitzing from the White House and some ghost writing by Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. Among the items of information that the booklet can safely be assumed not to contain is the fact that shelters and their occupants are pawns in the cold war, that shelters will avail only in rural areas so remote that blast and thermal effects will not reach them, and that — as Bishop Angus Dun of Washington has said — the private-shelter approach is immoral and divisive. Nor will the pamphlet tell the citizenry that a massive shelter program would make nuclear war more, not less, likely. It has been suggested that copies should simply be marked "Return to Sender" and mailed back, unopened, to the White House, as mute expression of the conviction, shared by *The Nation*, that survival can come at too high a price even for those unlucky enough to "survive" a thermonuclear war. This at least would be one way of casting a ballot against the folly and wickedness implicit in the private-shelter program.

The Good 'Un

Chung Hee Park, the four-star General who is the military dictator of South Korea, came to Washington on a quasi-state visit and departed with promises of more military aid for his 600,000-man Army and a continuing flow of American billions for his ailing country (which ails largely because of his 600,000-man Army). "With his stony expression," *Time* wrote, "his dark glasses and dark civilian suits, the erect little man who flew into Washington last week sometimes looked like a bad 'un out of a foreign-intrigue movie." Good or bad, Washington was only too glad to receive the General, who had donned mufti in the hope that his military *coup d'état* would be de-emphasized thereby. Under the pressures of the cold war, Washington will embrace anyone who rules with a mailed fist, maintains law and order of a sort, and is ready to clobber the Communists. These specifications, General (Chairman) Park fills in every respect. So, in his peculiar way, he is a good 'un.

Two weeks before the General-Chairman's departure on his mission to Washington, UPI reported from Seoul the denial of an appeal from death sentences handed down to three newspaper men by the Park regime. The three, connected with the now defunct *Minjok Ilbo*, were convicted and sentenced to death by a military court for publishing "pro-Communist" dispatches and editorials, allegedly receiving money from "Communist" North Koreans *in Japan* (what an opportunity for a frameup!) and advocating exchanges between North and South Korea and the eventual reunification of the two. In short, they were advocating the only measures which can solve the problems of South Korea. But the "revolutionary" military appeals court ruled that the men must die because "there is indisputable evidence that the three are jointly principle [sic] offenders and that they committed anti-state activities by supporting the basic lines of anti-state organizations although they knew their action would benefit the organizations."

Talk about Beria and Himmler, the GPU and the Gestapo! In Washington, however, the dictates of hospitality forbade any mention of political executions, 40,000 political prisoners taken at the time of the coup, or the total abolition of civil liberties. Smiling broadly, Vice President Johnson pumped the hand of the "tough, austere soldier" on his arrival at National Airport. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Fowler Hamilton, head of the Agency for International Development, listened politely while General Park outlined his five-year, $2.4 billion plan for South Korea and suggested the United States might contribute half of the money — he did not say where he would get the other half. President Kennedy had lunch with the visiting planner and was said to be favorably impressed by his promise to hold elections and a constitutional referendum in 1963. In the meantime, General Park can execute all the newsmen he likes.

The Profit in 'Nonprofits'

The national spotlight will shortly be focused on "think factories," i.e., the nonprofit research institutes and corporations which have spawned like rabbits in the last decade. Claude Witze, editor of *Air Force*, estimates that there are now more than 350 of these anomalous corporations, some of which are the recipients of princely fees and subventions from government agencies, principally the armed services. In the current fiscal year, for example, five of the blue-chip "nonprofits" — Aerospace Corporation among them (see Wesley Marx's article on page 450) — will split $106,700,000 in fees. At the moment, five investigations of the "nonprofits" are under way: by the Bureau of the Budget, the Defense Department, a House Science and Astronautics subcommittee and the House subcommittee on Special Investigations, as well as by the General Accounting Office. (As a side issue, the House Ways and Means Committee has before it arguments to remove the "nonprofits'" tax exemption.)

The "nonprofits" are a source of concern on several counts, as Mr. Marx points out. But the major issues cut still deeper. Recently Bernard S. Benson, president of Benson-Lehner Corporation of Santa Monica, California, warned his colleagues in the data-processing field: "Where information rests is where power lies,

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and this concentration of power is catastrophically dangerous." It is also, we might add, enormously profitable to those who have access to the information.

Mr. Marx's article is among the first to call attention to the manner in which the "nonprofits" have been used as a device to get around the conflict-of-interests statutes. As one of the first publications to call attention to the misuse of the "think factories" (see: "'Think Factory' De Luxe" by Gene Marine, February 14, 1959), and in the belief that all is not altruistic that passes by the name of "nonprofit," we welcome the pending investigations.

Wheat – Canadian and American

Canada has a wheat surplus. So has the United States. The farmers of the United States want to sell their wheat, just as the farmers of Canada do. The American taxpayer would like to be relieved of the expense of buying and storing surplus wheat; in this he is exactly like his Canadian counterpart. Only the statesmen of the two countries seem to belong to different species. At least where Red China is concerned.

Canada has no more love for Red China than the United States has; unlike Britain, it does not recognize the Chinese Reds diplomatically. But the Canadians have an agreement to sell $362 million worth of agricultural products — mainly wheat — to the Chinese between now and the end of 1963. About $90 millions' worth will be shipped this year. Australia also sells large quantities of wheat to Red China. France, West Germany, Argentina and Burma are likewise suppliers, though in smaller quantities.

Red China is in such need of food that Canada and Australia together cannot fill its needs. According to the Chicago *Daily News* and other news services, the Chinese Communists have now approached American wheat growers and the United States Government with an offer to buy huge quantities of surplus grain. The wheat growers are amenable enough, but Washington is reported to be in an agony of anticipatory fear over the proposal. Albert Ravenholt of the Chicago *Daily News* cables from Manila: "Evidence here indicates that the Kennedy Administration is so concerned over possible domestic political repercussions that U.S. officials have tried to prevent all mention of these negotiations. . . . A decision to sell surplus grain to the Chinese Communists would open a Pandora's box of political questions concerning American relations with the Peking Government." But if we refuse to sell wheat to the hungry Chinese, and invite them to starve while we hoard our wheat, the world may not understand either. A "moral question" will be raised, Ravenholt writes, and of course that could open an international Pandora's box of an even more embarrassing kind.

Let the Administration take heart and do the rational, humane thing. There may be the widest divergence of opinion regarding diplomatic recognition of Red China, her admission to the U.N. and other matters, but Americans do not like to see people starve, or even go hungry, when there is food to feed them. When, some months back, it was first suggested that we might relieve China's food shortage, the idea met with a surprisingly favorable editorial reception. A bold move in this direction now by the Administration might meet with wide support. And, buying the wheat, the Chinese Reds might turn out to be not quite the ogres the China lobby and the ultra-conservatives have pictured. This is exactly what the rightists fear, of course; but there is no reason for the Administration to fear it.

TEACHERS CHOOSE a UNION . . *by Myron Lieberman*

ON OR BEFORE December 15, more than 40,000 teachers in New York City will select an organization to bargain for them with their Board of Education. This election, potentially the most important educational event of the 1960s, constitutes a unique opportunity for the city's teachers to end the organizational debacle in American education. The absence of a strong teachers' organization underlies every major educational problem of our time: failure to secure large-scale federal aid, chaotic and indefensible certification requirements for teachers, serious deficiencies in the public school curriculum, and the slow pace of school integration—to an important degree, these and other major problems persist because teachers' organizations are too weak to do anything about them.

The significance of the New York City election lies in the possibility that there will emerge from it a city-wide majority organization not just *composed of* teachers, but equally important, *controlled by* them. In all probability, such an organization would quickly become an important educational force, nationally as well as in New York City. To see why, let us look at the stakes in the election.

Despite popular opinion to the contrary, collective bargaining usually covers the same range of issues in

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public as it does in private employment. Hence, ostensibly, the election is for the right to bargain for the city's teachers on such matters as salaries, load, class size, and so on. Actually, much more is involved. Like teachers everywhere, New York City's have a stake in state and national legislation concerning education. Of necessity, the bargaining agent will also be the medium through which the city's teachers will arrive at their state and national, as well as their city, policies; the state and national affiliates of the bargaining agent will inevitably be the medium through which the city's teachers will influence state and national policy.

Since New York City employs more teachers than the ten smallest states combined, the choice of bargaining agent is bound to have major repercussions on national organizations of teachers. This probability is enhanced by the fact that almost 10 per cent of the nation's teachers live in the New York metropolitan area, that the city is the center of our mass media, and by special circumstances pertaining to the election. It is safe to say that no event in the past forty years has as great a potential for creating a teachers' organization capable of dealing with the major problems of education.

There will probably be three organizations on the ballot: the Teachers Union (TU), an organization without state or national affiliates; the Teachers Bargaining Organization (TBO), an *ad hoc* organization composed of New York City education associations and affiliated with the National Education Association (NEA); and the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), a teachers' union affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

The Teachers Union faces one great handicap: it is not part of any state or national organization of teachers. Thus its members have no feasible way of influencing state or national educational policy. And because New York City's teachers *should* provide state and national organizations with leadership, it would be surprising if they voted for an organization without organic ties to teachers elsewhere.

Now let us compare the merits of the TBO and the UFT. One advantage of the TBO is the strong membership and financial superiority of the NEA over the AFT. In May, 1961, the NEA had almost 750,000 members. For the 1961-62 school year, it gained over 55,000 members, a number almost equal to the total membership (60,000) of the AFT. On the other hand, for several years the AFT has enrolled more members than the NEA in some of the largest cities, such as New York City, Chicago and Detroit; and although the NEA's total budget is roughly twenty times that of the AFT, the UFT's membership, resources and leadership are superior to those of the TBO.

Thus the competition is largely between a weak local affiliated with an affluent national organization and a relatively strong local affiliated with a national of very limited means. Of course, if the UFT should secure all-out assistance from the AFL-CIO, it may be able to match the TBO dollar for dollar in the crucial last week prior to the election.

A UFT victory would invigorate the entire AFT and stimulate substantial gains in its membership; after collective-bargaining elections, members of the losing organizations ordinarily join the winning one in order to have a voice in the latter's policies. If the UFT wins, other AFT locals in large urban centers are likely to press for similar elections. Only a few such victories would effect a radically different organizational picture in American education. This possibility emphasizes the need for a closer look at the nation-wide organizational situation in education at this time.

DESPITE their large membership, the NEA and its affiliates are clearly weak organizations. Let me cite just one bit of compelling evidence on this point. In 1958, the NEA's Research Division conducted a study of local associations affiliated with the NEA. The study showed that, during the entire 1957-58 school year, 46 per cent of the affiliates failed to make a single request or suggestion in writing to school authorities; almost 84 per cent sent two or fewer written communications to school authorities; 79 per cent did not receive a single written communication from their school authorities; and approximately 90 per cent received two or fewer communications from this source. The data on conferences held between association representatives and school authorities presented substantially the same picture of association inactivity.

IN A sense, no formal communication is necessary between NEA-affiliated associations and school administrators, since in about 87 per cent of the associations, the administrators are welcomed as members. For all practical purposes, messages from education associations to their school administrators would be as meaningful as a letter to one's self.

Unrestricted administrator membership in education associations is an important, but incomplete, explanation of their inactivity.

The NEA was founded as a study group, not as a professional or employee organization. This is why, in 1906, it was able to get a Congressional charter — a fact of immense significance to the future course of American education.

The absence of any national organization representing teachers led, in 1916, to the establishment of the AFT. The need for such an organization was reflected in the fact that, within three years, the new group had more members than the NEA. At this juncture, NEA leaders moved to crush the AFT. To do so, they had to provide an organization more responsive to teacher needs than the NEA had been up to that time. The attempted solution was to transform the NEA from a study group into a professional association that would also represent teachers in matters of employment. The solution was not explicitly formulated in these terms, but that is what actually happened.

Now, consider the organizations that have been chartered by Congress: the American Legion, AMVETS, American War Mothers, American National Red Cross, Boy Scouts of America, Civil Air Patrol and Disabled American Veterans. Note that the teachers are the only *occupational* group operating under

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a Congressional charter. For any occupational group so to operate is a serious mistake.

Public officials are supposed to act in the public interest; when they don't, some agency must inform the public and propose corrective action. The very nature of the problem makes it imperative that this role be fulfilled by organizations of public employees, who are in the best position to know the facts. However, an organization that is to serve the public in this way must be free from domination by government administration who, on occasion, it may have to oppose.

Both teachers and lay citizens commonly think of teachers' organizations solely in terms of their ability to get more for teachers. From the standpoint of public policy, nothing could be more shortsighted. Strong teachers' organizations are essential to the public interest. Since it is practically impossible to develop such organizations if they allow unrestricted administrator membership, the public interest requires the exclusion of top administrative personnel from teachers' organizations.

THESE comments are relevant to the NEA's Congressional charter. In accordance with this charter, the constitution of the NEA was established by Congress, *and can be amended only by an act of Congress signed by the President, or by the overriding of his veto by Congress.* This situation is clearly not in the best interest of either the public or the teachers. It is most unwise to force professional organizations to get Congressional approval to amend their constitutions. Apart from the danger to their independence inherent in these circumstances, it is obviously absurd to suppose that Congress, in addition to its many heavy responsibilities, can or should devote its time to amending the constitutions of occupational organizations.

The dangers implied are clearly evident from the procedures, laid down in the NEA charter, for electing the organization's Executive Secretary, its chief executive officer. The procedures also illustrate the practical difficulties confronting any attempt at grass-roots NEA reform.

According to the charter, "the Board of Trustees shall elect the Secretary of the Association, who shall be secretary of the Executive Committee, and shall fix the compensation and term of his office for a period not to exceed four years." The charter also states that "the Board of Trustees shall consist of four members elected by the Board of Directors for the term of four years, and the president of the Association, who shall be a member ex officio during his term of office." The charter also provides that one trustee is to be elected by the directors each year for a four-year term. In this connection, it is to be noted that the president is not elected in the year in which he takes office and becomes a trustee ex officio; instead, the first vice president automatically becomes president the following year.

Four of five trustees are elected for staggered terms by the Board of Directors — but how does one get to be a director? Here, things get really complicated. There are three kinds of directors. Each state or territory is entitled to elect at least one director; for each 20,000 or more active and life members, each gets an additional one. These "state directors" are elected for three-year terms, one-third being elected at each annual convention of the NEA.

A second group of directors consists of certain officers of the association: the president, vice president, immediate past president, treasurer, chairman of the Board of Trustees and other members of the Executive Committee. (To save wear and tear on the reader, I shall not try to explain how the Executive Committee is elected!) And the third group consists of former NEA presidents elected prior to July 1, 1937.

Thus, last year, the NEA's Board of Directors consisted of sixty-eight state directors, eleven who held the post by virtue of their elective office, and six who had been NEA presidents prior to July 1, 1937.

What are we to make of this complicated structure — so complicated that I have yet to meet a rank-and-file member of the NEA who understood the procedures by which its chief executive is chosen? In brief, here it is: the chief executive is elected by a staggered committee, which in turn is elected by another committee, most of whose membership is staggered or legally beyond the control of the membership. Quite apart from the problem of administrator domination, it is a procedure that makes rank-and-file control over NEA officers all but impossible.

By contrast, in the AFT — and in many unions larger even than the NEA—the chief, full-time executives are chosen directly by delegates in convention; and the delegates, in turn, are elected directly by the membership.

IN MOST communities, school administrators are free to attend out-of-town meetings while school is in session. Teachers cannot do so without paying for their replacement in the classroom. Few can do this from their own pockets, and most local associations or school systems do not

Drawing by Mel Weinstein

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absorb this expense. Because organizational leadership is dependent upon a person's ability to attend meetings throughout the year, and because administrators have so many more opportunities to finance their organizational travel at public expense, the administrators inevitably take over most of the leadership in state and national associations.

The constituency of key agencies within the NEA illustrates these points. In 1960-61, 85 per cent of NEA membership were classroom teachers. Yet only three of the eleven-member Executive Committee were teachers. There was only one teacher on the five-member Board of Trustees which elects the Executive Secretary. The extent of rank-and-file control over these agencies can be inferred from the fact that NEA members are not entitled to know the salary of their chief executive. This is a private matter between the Board of Trustees and the Executive Secretary!

TO attempt to transform a Congressionally chartered service organization into a professional one has done much to set teachers back politically. Certainly, their political weakness is hardly a matter for dispute. The recent fiasco over federal aid to education is only the latest bit of evidence on the subject. Another is the fact that neither the NEA nor the AFT was asked for its opinion of the present federal Commissioner of Education prior to his appointment. There is good reason to believe that, had the NEA been asked and its recommendation followed, the appointment would not have been made.

The NEA's Congressional charter has had an adverse effect upon the political influence of teachers because it reinforced the erroneous idea that it was possible, or desirable, to keep education out of politics, to view it as a "nonpartisan" activity of government. The error was all the greater because of its surface plausibility and the sincerity with which it was advocated.

Education ought to be nonpartisan in some respects. Teachers should not be appointed on a political basis. Nor should they indoctrinate the views of any political party (though they should express their views on political issues). But if in some ways it is desirable to keep politics out of education, it does not follow that we should keep education out of politics. In fact, it is impossible to do so. The amount of money to be spent for education is a political question, just as is the amount to be spent for highways, hospitals or urban renewal. Politics is the medium for settling these questions.

Unfortunately, NEA leaders have never understood this. Thus they argued — and still do — that elections to boards of education should be "nonpartisan" and held apart from general elections for political office. These views predated the NEA's charter, but the charter inevitably reinforced them. Certainly, in chartering such organizations as the NEA, Boy Scouts, Red Cross and American War Mothers, Congress did not expect them to organize for political action, at least to the extent that professional organizations, unions or business groups do. Thus the NEA takes a stand on issues, but it does not endorse candidates or provide money and manpower in their behalf. At the local level, most school-board elections are held without party designation and apart from general elections (a practice in accord with NEA recommendations).

The results have been predictably disastrous. When educational legislation is on the agenda, the teachers are pathetically weak as a lobby. (Whatever politicians may say publicly, I have yet to meet one who disagreed privately with this conclusion.) After all, you cannot argue for 364 days a year that education should be "nonpartisan" and divorced from politics, and then expect teachers to be politically effective on the 365th day. Meanwhile, for 364 days a year, opponents of vital educational legislation put up money and manpower to elect politicians who share their views. *Teachers must do likewise or resign themselves to political irrelevancy.* The difficulty is that any such change would violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the NEA's charter.

THE PROFESSIONAL inadequacies of the NEA also deserve closer scrutiny. "Any person interested in advancing the cause of education" is eligible for membership—hardly a professional standard. Professional ethics is a farce in education. The NEA's code of ethics is a collection of platitudes which is completely ignored by most teachers. Teacher certification is a mess, largely because the NEA advocates lay membership on the state boards which license teachers. As a result, efforts to raise certification standards have shattered for years on the fact that teachers, unlike doctors, lawyers and other professional groups, do not control the boards which set and enforce these standards.

As a result of administrator domination of education associations, the concept of professionalism in education has come to be identified with acquiescence to administrative direction or public opinion. The "professional teacher" is the one who does extra work for nothing, thereby saving his employer a few more dollars. Meanwhile, the substance of professionalism has yet to be set forth in a meaningful program by any teachers' organization in the country.

These inadequacies in the NEA and its affiliates might be disregarded if they were amenable to internal reform. Unfortunately, the basic ones are not. You cannot eliminate administrator domination of teachers' associations by enrolling more

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teachers in them. Furthermore, even if Congress and the NEA hierarchy could be persuaded to restrict administrator membership in the NEA and to democratize its organizational structure, teachers could hardly exercise their full political potential as long as they worked through an organization operating under a Congressional charter. To illustrate: why should Congressmen opposed to federal aid to education agree to changes in the NEA's constitution that would make it more effective in securing federal aid—or in putting these same Congressmen out of office?

One further point underscores the adverse national consequences of an NEA victory in New York City.

An organization can work for certain objectives which, once achieved, require no further organizational action. For example, it can strive for a specified age limit for compulsory retirement. When goals such as these are enacted into law, they are more or less self-executing. But collective bargaining is in a different category. It is not self-executing and it cannot be made to work by an organization that does not believe in it. Yet, teachers everywhere *need* collective bargaining. Since TBO-NEA leaders opposed collective bargaining until the necessity to compete with the UFT forced them to espouse it, they are not likely to demonstrate its full value if the TBO becomes the bargaining agent. Their failure to do so would undoubtedly retard the development of collective bargaining elsewhere in public education.

THESE considerations raise the question of whether victory by the TBO's principal rival in New York City, the AFL-CIO-affiliated United Federation of Teachers, would really help matters. Undeniably, the UFT's parent organization, the American Federation of Teachers, is seriously deficient both as a professional organization and as a union. The AFT has no real program in certification, accreditation or professional ethics. Its journal is nothing but a house

(Continued on page 460)

CONGRESSMEN IN UNIFORM . . *by Jerry Greene*

Washington

SOMETHING NEW in the way of do-it-yourself lobbying has cropped up in Washington during recent years, giving rise to a sort of conflict-of-interest situation which surely demands examination by the nation's taxpayers. This is the matter of Reserve Officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force—yes, and of the Marine Corps—who also hold elective posts as Senators or Representatives.

In such a situation, the ordinary citizen can only be the loser. He is being served by men sworn to serve two masters whose ultimate goals may be the same — peace and security—but whose methods of approach are in continual and costly dispute.

Certainly there is nothing new about Reserve Officers being elected to Congress. Certainly the nation's strength has always rested in its citizen-soldiers. But in these days of $50 billion "peacetime" military budgets, when Cabinet members (themselves war veterans) must sell stock holdings to avoid conflict-of-interest charges, when the most careful balance between the Legislative and Executive branches of government is essential to preserve freedom, this dual service invites the most serious attention.

The number of active Reservists, i.e., those who attend regular classes or drills and serve on active duty for fifteen days each year, acquiring credit for retirement benefits (at sixty-five) on completion of twenty years' satisfactory service, has grown on Capitol Hill to the point where there are now three formally organized Congressional Reserve Units —Army, Navy and Air Force. The Army and Navy groups were set up in 1957, the Air Force in January of 1961.

There are approximately fifty Senators and Representatives in these three groups. In addition, scores of secretaries, assistants and staff members from key Congressional committees swell the ranks.

These Reservists do not draw pay for attendance at weekly classes. But they are paid the prevailing rates, according to rank, for their fifteen days' active duty, which usually consists of an "orientation tour" of overseas installations (and of a good many spots where there are no installations, such as Ethiopia). Their military pay is, of course, in addition to their salaries as Congressmen or committee staff members.

It is the active Reservists who are here the subject of inquiry. No effort has been made to count the far larger Congressional group represented in the stand-by Reserve, or who have been retired, discharged or have resigned their commissions, but who still may fairly be said to have friends, connections and loyalties pointed toward an individual branch of the Armed Forces.

There is no evidence available that any of the military services ever sought to use a Reserve unit as such for promoting its own interest in Congress. This would be unnecessary, and perhaps illegal. Further, the Reservists vary as to their politics, and their individual interests are as divergent as the poles. For example, Maj. Gen. Sen. Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.), chief of the Army's Command and Operations Group, numbers in his Reserve unit Second Lieutenant Joe W. Fleming II, a member of the staff of Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.). (The Thurmond-Fulbright battle over muzzling military speakers on the Communist issue has sparked a full-scale Senate investigation.)

Yet the fact remains that the Air

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Force's controversial B-70 supersonic-bomber project hasn't found notable support from Thurmond's Army "Commandos," nor from the Navy's twenty-two Senators and Representatives who are members of the "Van Zandt Tigers" (Volunteer Training Unit 5-48, commanded by Rear Adm. Rep. James Van Zandt, R., Pa.). Similarly, the Army, in years of fighting for prompt production of the Nike-Zeus anti-missile missile, has found few supporters in the ranks of "Goldwater's Aces" (9999th Air Force Reserve Squadron, commanded by Brigadier General Senator Barry Goldwater, R., Ariz.).

The Navy has had trouble from both Thurmond's "Commandos" and Goldwater's "Aces" on its pet projects.

ADMIRAL REPRESENTATIVE Van Zandt spelled out, in an extension of remarks in the *Congressional Record* of June 26, how his Naval unit operates:

> Every week when Congress is in session, U.S. Naval and Marine Corps Reserve Composite Company 5-48 meets on Capitol Hill. This Volunteer Training Unit was established during January, 1957, to afford members of Congress an opportunity to continue their participation in the Reserve program at a time and place that makes it possible for them to continue their active interest in the Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard.
>
> The weekly meetings include a classified operational briefing of Navy and Marine Corps ship and unit dispositions, followed by a formal presentation on a subject of current military interest.
>
> The meetings, for which the Reservists receive no pay, are exceptionally well attended. These drills are also supplemented from time to time by field trips and active duty-for-training ashore and afloat. Recently, for example, the unit spent more than two hours at the Naval Gun Factory inspecting two destroyers, one of which had been modernized. In the very near future the unit will tour the David Taylor Model Basin.
>
> The intense interest shown by the members in national defense matters keeps them well informed on the single most important problem before the nation today—national security.

On the surface, there can be no quarrel with an operation like this. Naturally, the Congressional Reserve units are by far the best informed of any throughout the country. Not only does the Pentagon eagerly offer them hot, to-the-minute information of a kind not normally the business of any Reservists, but it also furnishes them high-echelon lecturers of a quality not always available to units back home.

Furthermore, as Congressmen and Senators—particularly if they are members of the Armed Services or Appropriations Committee — these Reservists have access to Top Secret intelligence. A paragraph in the official unclassified travel orders for thirty-six of Van Zandt's "Composite Company" that made an "active duty" junket last summer to Copenhagen, Berlin, Barcelona and North Africa, noted: "All Reserve Officers in this group hold Secret clearance. Members of Congress authorized access to information up to and including Top Secret on a need-to-know basis. Escort officers hold Top Secret clearance." There was the further notation that "State Department making all hotel reservations, except Gibraltar"; obviously, this is doing active duty the hard way. And there was an additional revealing paragraph in the orders: "Congressman Van Zandt requests briefings be informal and maximum one and one-half hour duration." Quite clearly, the Congressman did not want his people to work too hard.

The point to be emphasized is that the official orders, which earlier had taken note of Van Zandt's military rank, go on to refer to him as "Congressman," not as "Rear Admiral." It was the Congressman who was issuing the orders, not the Admiral.

IN HIS farewell address to the nation as Chief Executive, former President Eisenhower included a grave warning of the potential danger in development of a military-industrial complex. Congress stands as the one safeguard against the overgrowth of such a concentration of power. But Congressmen of dual responsibility, no matter how high their integrity or patriotic their motives, could easily become the fatal link in the combine.

That's because of practical politics. A member of Congress, particularly of the House, must represent his constituents if he desires re-election. Very few Representatives are elected on national issues. Members of Congress, as in all legislatures, trade votes, swapping support to gain support for personal projects that might mean life or death at the polls.

The problem can be seen in its simplest form when a move is made to close a military base or small installation. The member of Congress from the area affected, particularly if he is a Reserve officer, may know full well that the installation is no longer required, that the changing military plans in a bursting technological age bring swift obsolescence. But let the Pentagon announce, or even plan, the closing of an installation and the roof caves in.

Labor unions protest; merchants scream; local governments cry alarm. The record, of course, is packed with instances where members of Congress investigate such problems, conclude that the administrative action planned or taken is the proper course and stand firm against the voice of lament from the home folks. But not always.

ALL THESE things go to make up a piece of the democratic process, and in the end we come out pretty well. No other government has ever been able to match this one for lumbering in the right direction.

But Americans are now in the process of learning a new, cold-war way of life, in which mammoth defense spending is essential for survival. And, as the leadership of both the present and the preceding Administrations have been frank to say, the road looks long and no bright and inexpensive end is in sight. Under these circumstances, it becomes vital to keep an eye on pressure groups of any nature which might, knowingly or not, try to influence national policy in the direction of their own selfish interests.

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Influence is an insidious thing. Periodically, Congressional committees take out after "influence peddlers" around the Capitol — the 5 per centers on government contracts and those who would settle for 2 per cent on those fat $100 million contracts.

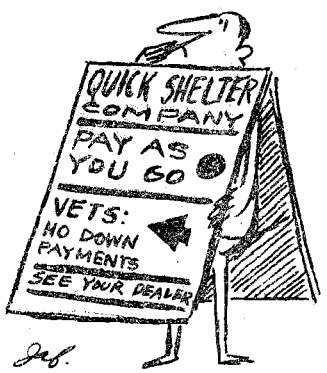
Yet today we find the Armed Forces with their own built-in lobby of a potency no private industry could buy—a lobby whose membership must of need represent the interests of that same private industry and, also (if time permits), the interests of the taxpayers whose money they are spending.

It is not a simple problem.

BETTER DEAD . . *by E. U. Condon*

LIVING under the threat of annihilation by nuclear war (brought on by everybody standing firm), people are beginning to think about individual self-reliant measures of protection against possible failure of national governments to preserve the peace.

All sorts of issues are being debated. Private-enterprise builders are advertising comfortably furnished fallout shelters; soon we will be able to invest our savings in a mutual fund made up entirely of shares in fallout-shelter stocks. The Defense Department is spending millions of



dollars "identifying" existing shelter space in the basements of downtown buildings, where businessmen may stay for two weeks or longer with their secretaries, while wives and children try to survive in the suburbs. Theologians have provided moral arguments proving that it is all right to shoot your neighbor if he tries to enter your shelter.

For too long there was too much apathy. Now there is an aroused public concern, from which good will come. To doubt this would be to doubt the wisdom of the people.

But there is a phase of the problem which thus far has not received attention. Everyone understands that there will be total, instantaneous annihilation for those who are within a radius, say, of ten miles of the point over which the bomb is detonated. So nothing can be done about them. This is likely to dispose of the businessmen and secretaries downtown, leaving the mommies and kiddies in their shelters in the suburbs.

But what about those in the fringe of the circle of total destruction—those who are not killed outright, but get at once a dose of radiation which dooms them to death? There are going to be literally tens of thousands in this category. What are we going to do about them? This is the medical report on a man who accidentally received some 20,000 rem (as printed in the *Annals of Internal Medicine* for February, 1952):

> After an initial twenty-four-hour period of gastric distress and prostration, the general condition of the patient improved, although he continued to be very weak. Numbness in both hands was replaced by gradually increasing pain, which became the outstanding symptoms during the first week. . . . On the fifth day there was a rise in temperature associated with tachycardia [rapid heartbeats]. The fever became progressively higher until it exceeded 106 degrees rectally on the twenty-fourth day. In the course of the illness, the patient's condition deteriorated steadily. He lost a great deal of weight and his appearance changed markedly. There were occasional periods of mental confusion during the early stages of the illness . . . morale was excellent until several days before death, when the patient became irrational. He became comatose on the twenty-fourth day and died on the afternoon of this day.

This patient received the best medical care; in the event of an enemy attack, there will be very little medical care available, good or bad. Although "morale was excellent" (and might even be improved by the knowledge that we are standing firm), the fact remains that death is certain for the patient—and for who knows how many others like him. Let us not worry about them, and let us assume that they are happy to have made the supreme sacrifice for their country.

BUT suppose that Susie and Dick got quite a substantial dose as the gamma rays overtook them on the way home from school. And suppose that you let father into the shelter without knowing that he has received a worse dose. Before long he will be developing symptoms described in the *Annals*. Any man who has been provident enough to build a shelter for his family, will certainly not want to cause them all that trouble. He will not mind the suffering for himself, because he knows that that is part of our way of life; but, as an honorable and responsible man, he will not want to hurt his family's chances of survival.

If theologians can tell us that a man has a right to shoot a neighbor who is trying to get into a shelter, perhaps they can also find approval for persons in the condition just described to get out of a shelter to end their lives. I am confident that such approval will be forthcoming.

With such approval given, everyone will soon recognize the need to be prepared. Since most of us lack

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any direct experience with suicide techniques, and have received no instructions on the subject, we are likely to make a clumsy mess of it, even though actuated by the noblest motives.

I FEEL that this is a serious gap in the civil-defense program as it has shaped up so far. The National Institutes of Health (for what is here proposed is a contribution to health) should encourage our medical scientists and the great drug houses to develop a suitable "terminating" agent, to be used in the way our government intended for Francis Powers. I am not suggesting that anyone be *required* to take the pill. But I do believe that no one should be denied the *opportunity* to serve his country and his family in this way, should occasion arise.

Even without a federally financed research-and-development contract, I have given a little thought to the technical problem involved. The drug industry now knows how to make a large variety of mood-elevating, antidepressant drugs that help a person to see what a glorious world we live in, and in general how perfectly dandy everything is. My pill would contain a copious, slow-dissolving layer of such a drug. Its splendid action would counteract that of the radiation for several hours. Then, inside that layer, there would be a good, strong, sleeping potion to put the patient into a state of merciful unconsciousness. Then, inside of that, there would be a central core of the essential ingredient, potassium cyanide.

Such a pill could be developed rather quickly. We need 180 million

of them to be distributed to the American people right away. Boy, would that make our deterrent credible!

Physics can make a worthy contribution. Kinds of clear glass are known which turn purple when they receive a dose of gamma rays such as would be lethal to human beings. We could make heart-shaped bottles out of such glass to contain the pill, and they would be worn around the neck on a chain, along with one's social security number. (Of course, it would be creeping socialism to *give* away these pills. They will be *sold* in drug stores, after which Senator Kefauver will investigate the profits.)

Thus equipped, you need not worry. When the bomb falls, if you are not incinerated at once, you look at your locket. If it is clear, you know that you can make for the nearest shelter. But if it has turned a lovely, beautiful amethyst, you can smile to yourself, for you know that you are well provided for, and that you are not going to be a burden to anybody. You will even have a few happy hours in which to make final arrangements—such as inviting the nice fellow next door to take your place in the family shelter, provided that *his* glass is clear. No need to shoot him, after all!

Citizens should write to their Congressmen and demand that my proposal be included in federal civil-defense planning at once. I have even thought of an appropriate medical name for the pill: it is dilaffin*. The children's size is called digigglin*.

*Trademark. Competitors are warned that registration is also being filed for the cognates: dismilin, dichortlin, digrinin, disimprin, dismirkin, etc.

HIRED BRAINS for the BRASS . . *by Wesley Marx*

IN AN INTRODUCTION to a brochure put out by Aerospace Corporation, Dr. Ivan Getting, its president, writes:

> . . . In the last decade, [man] has thrust himself beyond the tangible atmosphere into the heavens. There, in space, lie the new horizons of adventure.
>
> Once free of the mantle of earth's atmosphere, man . . . can study the earth from outside, visit the moon and other planets. He can also study the cosmic phenomena and the energy relations controlling his life. With such exploration come faster transportation, more versatile communication, better cloud and weather observation.

All of which is impressively true; unfortunately, little of it is relevant to Aerospace Corporation. Dr. Getting, later in the same paragraph, gets to the heart of the matter:

> . . . Aerospace Corporation will be responsible for mobilizing scientific and engineering manpower to advance space science and to apply it to Air Force ballistic missile and other space programs.

In reality, Aerospace Corporation, nominally a civilian scientific planning and management agency, is a gimmick by which the United States Air Force is enabled to hire scientists and administrators at salaries which neither the Air Force, nor the federal civil service, can afford to pay.

Aerospace is the most glamorous member of a growing list of nonprofit corporations — "non-profits," as they are called in the trade — which supply civilian scientists for military hire. RAND Corporation and Systems Development Corporation, both in Santa Monica, Calif., and MITRE Corporation and Lincoln Laboratories, both in Bedford, Mass., are among members of the Air Force's scientific guard. Giving the same service to the Army is the Research Analysis Corporation in

WESLEY MARX contributes to a number of West Coast magazines.

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Bethesda, Md. The Navy has the Applied Physics Laboratory in Silver Spring, Md.

The personnel of these "civilian" agencies includes some of the best scientific talent in the country — chemists, physicists, electronic engineers, psychologists and social scientists. But their only interest in what Dr. Getting picturesquely calls the "new horizons of adventure" — space — is how to get there first with the biggest bang. They are, in truth, soldiers without uniforms.

According to *Missiles and Rockets* (August 28, 1961), Defense Department contracts to non-profit corporations and institutions are running at $325 million annually, with the bulk going to the "non-profits" and with the Air Force as the chief sugar daddy. In fiscal 1962, the Air Force will award $198 million in such contracts, more than half going to RAND, Aerospace, Lincoln, MITRE and three lesser satellites. In the Los Angeles area, heartland of the Air Force's scientific guard, RAND, Aerospace and Systems Development Corporation employ about 7,000 persons (approximately the size of a Marine division), including 2,000 scientists, engineers and specialists.

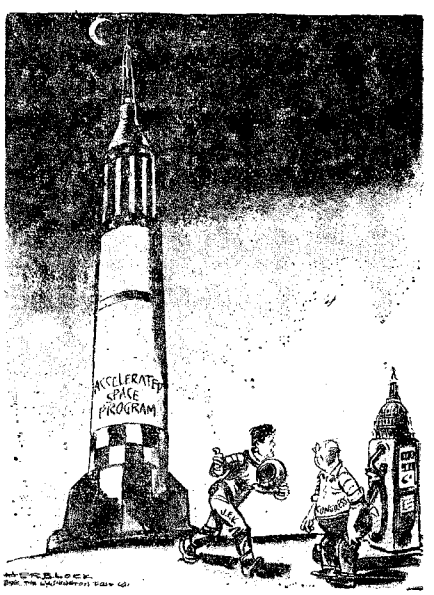
But the power of these outfits extends well beyond their own establishments. According to Alan T. Waterman, director of the National Science Foundation, research and development is a $12 billion industry in the United States, with the military dispensing $4 billion of the total. The "non-profits" counsel the military on how much of these R and D funds should be spent. Thus, this force in mufti assumes a major role in determining the country's investment in its scientific future.

THE NON-PROFIT corporation has become so heavily garrisoned because it solved the problem faced by the military at the close of World War II: the inability to attract scientists. J. R. Goldstein, vice president of RAND, father of the "non-profits," explained: "Scientists were generally fed up with the restrictions and red tape involved in working military problems and wanted out. Civil service seemed unable to attract and hold the competence needed; and it seemed likely that the kind of work that had to be done couldn't be done in peacetime in the universities because of the probable unwillingness of campus people to work under security restrictions."

The "non-profit" offers the services an escape route from civil-service pay scales. The military merely includes the salaries of its force in mufti in its contracts issued to the private, non-profit firms. Najeeb Halaby, who helped organize Aerospace before becoming Federal Aviation Administrator, says that the "non-profits" pay a top scientist "on the order of $40,000, while comparable civil-service pay is about half that."

ALTHOUGH the non-profit-corporation scientist is supported solely by government funds to do government work, he does not come under the conflict-of-interest regulations associated with civil service. A "non-profit's" board members likewise escape the regulations: RAND's board, for instance, includes the presidents of Westinghouse and the Columbia Broadcasting System as well as the chairman of Monsanto Chemical Company.

The "non-profit," moreover, enables the military to dress up its image as an employer of scientific talent. All that "red tape" and those "restrictions" disappear behind the benign façade of the non-profit corporation where "innovators" work in an "atmosphere of freedom which encourages creativity." The military laboratory becomes a "university without a student body."



"Fill'er up!"

RAND was set up shortly after World War II to brainstorm future Air Force strategy. Even when the Air Force did not accept RAND's advice, it was happy with its new baby and the voluminous press notices it received. Magazine writer-photo teams stormed RAND to see what a Think Factory looked like. A reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* wrote recently "It [RAND] is the treasure of the new era, the abstract jewels of men's minds, the unleashed thoughts, the soaring, science-spurred image upon which the future floats. Tiffany's was never so zealously protected."

TO KEEP the future buoyant, the Air Force expanded its concept of "non-profits." When the Air Force entered the missile era, it regrouped a division of RAND into the Systems Development Corporation to help supervise the creation of the air-defense system. In "non-profit" parlance, SDC is a spin-off.

The expansion of the "non-profit" function from advice to supervision was also realized in the creation of missiles. At first the Air Force hired Space Technology Laboratories, a division of Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, to supervise the planning and construction of its missile systems. But although TRW was barred from producing hardware in any missile program supervised by STL, other manufacturers didn't like the idea of competitors wandering around their plants supervising work on Air Force projects. To reduce the friction, the Air Force instigated the formation of another non-profit corporation, and in June of 1960, Aerospace, the most ambitious of the "non-profits," began business.

A board of trustees (non-profit corporations have trustees, not directors, in line with the university ploy) runs the corporation, which is non-profit, has no capital stock and is not organized for manufacturing purposes. Just as its other counterparts,

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Aerospace provides the Air Force—at $30 million a year—with a way to mobilize scientific talent for war technology. The corporation employs a total of 2,200 persons, including 450 scientists and engineers. The Kennedy Administration has already recognized the caliber of the board members by recruiting four for government service (including the chairman, Roswell Gilpatric, presently Deputy Secretary of Defense). A former Deputy Secretary of Defense, William C. Foster, was then chairman until several months ago, when he was made head of the new U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (Job commuting between Washington and non-profit corporations is quite regular, like change of duty orders.)

Aerospace pays the highest salaries among the "non-profits." Top salary is $75,000, according to *Missiles and Rockets*, with the next salary falling between $50,000 and $75,000. Four persons get between $27,500 and $45,000, and thirteen between $20,000 and $33,000. (Congress allows the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to pay a maximum of $21,000 for thirteen key jobs.)

CONGRESS is beginning to show keen interest in the salaries paid by Aerospace and other "non-profits." The late Rep. Overton Brooks (D., La.), chairman of the House Space Committee, said, "This [high pay] practice is obviously a means of getting around the civil-service pay scales. . . . I question whether this is the solution to the problem of obtaining skilled personnel for the government."

The House Defense Appropriation Subcommittee, after slashing $5 million from an Air Force request for Aerospace this year, said, "The committee feels the salaries paid by the Aerospace Corporation are excessive; that its overhead costs are too high and that it plans to employ too large a staff."

The Bureau of the Budget has been studying "non-profits" since the first of the year. Dr. Harold Brown, directing the Defense Department's research effort, says he is studying the whole range of non-profit laboratories. The Secretary of the Air Force, Eugene Zuckert, told an Aerospace symposium in Los Angeles that "we must be alert to the hazards of [non-profits'] special status."

But budget slashes and official concern are not solving the basic question of the ever-expanding, non-profit corporation system, the question which Congressman Brooks posed: is this the solution to the problem of obtaining skilled personnel for the government? Before he died last September, Mr. Brooks had begun an investigation of over sixteen non-profit firms. The investigation is not limited to pay scales. The House Space Committee wants to know if the "atmosphere of freedom which encourages creativity" also encourages waste. "Since the private concerns do not have to make a profit, they are not required to minimize their costs. Does this situation lead to the wasting of public funds?" a committee release asked. The release said the investigation will seek to discover whether abuses exist in bonuses, capital gains, copyright fees and royalties "where a private company serves, in effect, as an agency of the federal government." Hearings will be held next year.

The "non-profits" raise other problems. Do they not pose a threat to the vitality of science? The $325 million that the military dispenses to non-profit corporations and institutions is about $25 million more than the National Science Foundation, the government's agency to stimulate and finance basic research, receives. To become such a strong bidder for science, the military has stressed to the public that the vitality of scientific discoveries will improve the "defense posture" and will also produce "fallout" knowledge adaptable to non-military projects. But by successfully quartering a valuable scientific community in Aerospace, the military drains the very strength of science—basic research. The jargon of science for military hire—breakthrough, crash program, scientific revolutions, leapfrogging—is the antithesis of science. The existence of the "non-profits" must be balanced with the need for updating and expanding university laboratories, the fount of basic research.

By exploiting public infatuation with space ("the new horizons of adventure"), the "non-profit" obscures the fact that science is rapidly outmoding the military's role in national security; in fact, science is rapidly *becoming* national security. The country which can constantly improve all its human and physical resources increases its economic, social and political position. But steering science with the narrow vision of the military imagination will not foster this kind of progress.

BESIDES monopolizing its horizons, the "non-profit" can also threaten the integrity of science. Last May, the Army and the Operations Research Office at Johns Hopkins University severed a twelve-year relationship based on the non-profit formula. *The New York Times* reported that Dr. Ellis Johnson, director of the office, attributed the separation to "ethical differences." Dr. Johnson, according to the *Times*, indicated that Army leaders had sought to maintain "strict control in detail" over projects, whereas the doctor said he believed researchers, once given an assignment, must do a "complete and honest job." Subsequently the Army established the Research Analysis Corporation in the father-image of RAND.

The military, just as do industry and the universities, requires access to the scientific community in this age of advanced technology. But the military must never be allowed to use its needs to justify the creation of a monopoly of the scientific community behind the façade of the non-profit corporation. The waste of money is an evil, but the corruption and waste of human intelligence is an even greater evil. The power and the finances of the non-profit corporations should make Congress and the Executive branch heed the warning of Dwight Eisenhower in his farewell address: "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Mythical Turning Point

THE COLD WAR AND ITS ORIGINS. Vol. I: 1917-1950; Vol. II: 1950-1960. By D. F. Fleming. Doubleday & Co. 1158 pp. $15 set.

Geoffrey Barraclough

THERE IS no greater obstacle in the world today to sane political thinking than our obsession with the cold war. We have lived so long with the cold war that we have become its prisoners; and the central criticism, as it seems to me, of Dr. Fleming's massive new book is that it may all too easily solidify our cold-war fixations.

In saying this, I do not wish to appear to be taking up a position antagonistic to Dr. Fleming. Those who have said that his work is not history in the formal, technical sense are probably correct; there is little of that patient sifting of sources and evidence on which the professional historian prides himself, and a far too ready use of ephemeral newspaper gossip. But it remains a major work on its own level; and if only a tenth of Dr. Fleming's vast accumulation of evidence is true, it is a massive indictment of Western policies over the last sixteen years, which cannot be answered by simply piling up a similar indictment against the Kremlin. I should describe it (with the license allowed to a foreigner) as an outstandingly courageous self-examination of the American conscience. For me, one of its most heartening lessons is the persistence of rational thinking in the United States even at the height of McCarthyism, so that it can never be said that an alternative policy was not put before the American people. Walter Lippmann, in particular, comes through with flying colors, unfalteringly clear-headed, the surest and sanest guide the United States has had in two decades, a prophet unheeded in his own country.

But when all this has been said, the fact remains that, in his determination to meet and defeat the cold-war crusaders on their own ground, Dr. Fleming has unwittingly played their game. By endorsing the view that the cold war is the central theme of contemporary history he has—contrary to the rules of good generalship—allowed them to choose the terrain, and the only issue is whether his interpretation or theirs is correct. This, however, is not the real question. The real question is whether our obsession with the cold war is not a total misjudgment of the current world situation, and whether the fundamental criticism of American policy is not that, by myopic concentration on the cold war, it has misread and fumbled the challenge of the twentieth century.

THE ESSENTIAL postulate on which the cold-war crusaders and Dr. Fleming, and (curiously enough) the Communists themselves, are all agreed, is that 1917, the year of the Russian Revolution, was the great turning point in modern history. Any competent historian with the slightest inkling of the facts knows that this was not the case. The struggle for the heart of Europe is much older and quite independent of the ideological color of the Russian government; as is the struggle between Great Britain and Russia in the Middle East and that between the United States and Russia in the Far East. But for the collapse of imperial Russia during the First World War, it is a virtual certainty that Czechoslovakia, for example, would have fallen under Russian control in 1918 instead of 1948. Nor is it true that the Communist revolution added a new ideological factor. On the contrary, throughout the nineteenth century, West Europeans had launched diatribes against the "Asiatic despotism" of the Czars every bit as virulent as those now launched against the Communists, and there is no aspect of the bitter hatred of the "godless Reds" which had not already been expressed more than a century earlier regarding the French revolutionaries.

One thing, and one thing alone, seemed to differentiate the cold war — though not until after 1945 — and this was its world-wide character. Right down to 1939, countries such as Germany and Poland were able to walk the tightrope between East and West, delicately balancing as their interests dictated; after 1945, with the elimination of the "middle" powers, the world seemed to be divided into two warring *blocs*. But even this proved to be an illusion. In Europe, it is true, West Germany, Poland and the like, remained more or less docile satellites; but who, in the wider perspective of world politics, cared any longer about the exploded European volcano? Elsewhere, in Asia, the Arab world and Africa, the old pattern was soon re-established — the pattern, so familiar in nineteenth-century Europe, of two alliances competing for the allegiance of the uncommitted, and signally failing to secure it. By 1955, probably before, it was abundantly clear that there was nothing new about the cold war at all, and that the notion that it marked an unprecedented conflict between right and wrong was, at best, poppycock. Qualitatively, there is nothing to distinguish the cold war from similar power struggles of the past; it is the same thing, writ this time a little bit larger.

BUT IF we turn aside from the cold war, then without doubt we can see that there are new and revolutionary and really challenging factors in the contemporary world situation. What is significant about these, however, is that the impetus behind them comes, not from Soviet communism, but from the Japanese destruction of European imperialism in Asia, which could not be restored after Japan's defeat. The really distinctive feature of our time is the uprising of Asia, and then of Africa, against the "White Peril" — an uprising which, as recent Chinese controversies with the Kremlin have shown, is directed scarcely less against the Soviet than the North American "whites." The real charge against the cold war ideologues in Washington — the same is true of their opposite numbers in the Soviet Union — is that they have made us oblivious to this fundamental fact of contemporary life. And it is because United States policy has been deflected by the cold war for fifteen decisive years, and has consequently missed all the cues, that American leadership and standing in the world are at a lower ebb today — in spite of the vast outlay of dollars and manpower and intellectual effort — than they were at the time of Roosevelt's death in 1945.

Some of this is made apparent in Dr. Fleming's book; but it is overlaid and obscured by what we may call the "bread-and-butter" of the cold war — in other words, by the stage-by-stage argument that if only Truman or Eisenhower or Dulles had done or not done this or that at this or that par-

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ticular juncture, all would be different. These arguments may be true, so far as they go — and on the whole I am on Dr. Fleming's side. But it is difficult to believe that they are the real point. In the first place, we can never really know the answer, since we can only guess at the reactions on the Soviet side, and the Red Army is certainly as caught up in the cold-war mentality as is the Pentagon. In the second place, the notion that the current-day issue lies squarely between Washington and Moscow, and can be settled by different policies in these two capitals, seems to be altogether oversimplified. It is a perfectly valid criticism of Washington's cold-war policies — for example, over German reunification — to say that they are a wasted effort because they will never be accepted by Russia and there is no prospect at all that the United States, having lost its lead in nuclear power between 1953 and 1957, will ever be able to impose them by force. But it is a more fundamental criticism to say that they have failed because they have ignored the basic limitations imposed on them by current world situations. For example, the policy of containment, in the face of a cold and unsympathetic world opinion, can work only to the detriment of the United States — not of the USSR — if it means (as it clearly does mean) an overextended *cordon sanitaire* around the whole periphery of China and the Soviet Union, expeditionary forces in Vietnam and garrisons in lukewarm or hostile countries all over the world.

DR. FLEMING quotes the former editor of *Fortune* magazine as saying in 1959 that "communism *thrives* on peace, *wants* peace, *triumphs* in peace." Like the statement a year later by T. Coleman Andrews that "the greatest threat that faces America today is the chance that Russia's Nikita Khrushchev may come forward with a genuine peace proposal that cannot be refused," this is the most damning indictment conceivable of the bankruptcy of American policy. What it signifies, if true, is that as a result of its obsession with the cold war the United States is frightened of exposing itself to peacetime conditions. That is the real measure of the mistakes of Dulles and others. Every positive step which the United States might have taken to make clear that it was part of the new world arising all around us has been abused and perverted for cold-war purposes. American aid is discredited throughout Asia and Africa because it is known to be inspired by fear of Russia. Mistaken cold-war necessities led the United States to support every corrupt dictator from Syngman Rhee and Ngo Dinh Diem to General Trujillo, to compound the felonies of the French in Algeria and the British in Cyprus, until one by one the American protégés tumbled and President Eisenhower suffered the indignity of being refused admission to Japan. The catalogue could be continued indefinitely; but the instances given are sufficient to show the damage the United States has suffered from cold-war logistics.

Dr. Fleming has done well to unroll the whole story, incident by incident, month by month, year by year, with exemplary detail. The valid question is not whose fault it was, because no amount of recrimination and no meticulous attempt to apportion blame between Washington and the Kremlin can hide the fact that the ultimate result has been to deal the United States a devastating blow. Sixteen years after the end of the World War, when even in Russia it enjoyed tremendous esteem and affection, the reputation of the United States is tarnished in every quarter of the globe, including the American continent, so that today it stands out as the one country of substance which has failed to adjust itself to the twentieth century. That is the result of the cold war, as Washington has conducted it, and that is why it is time for every American who wishes his country well to call for a change.

The Health Peddlers

THE TOADSTOOL MILLIONAIRES: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America Before Federal Regulation. By James Harvey Young. Princeton University Press. 262 pp. $6.

ONE FOR A MAN, TWO FOR A HORSE: A Practical History, Grave and Comic, of Patent Medicines. By Gerald Carson. Doubleday & Co. 128 pp. $6.50.

THE MEDICINE SHOW: Some Plain Truths About Popular Remedies for Common Ailments. By the Editors of *Consumer Reports*. Simon and Schuster. 250 pp. $3.95; $1.50 paper.

Vern L. Bullough

SELF-DOCTORING is an old and honored American tradition. Usually little harm can come from it; much of the time it can even be helpful. Unfortunately, the propensity for home medication has produced a whole industry which at best is merely expensive and at worst is harmful to life and health. At the first annual National Congress on Medical Quackery, held in October of this year in Washington, D.C., and called by the Food and Drug Administration and the American Medical Association, it was estimated that Americans spent more than $1 billion last year on unnecessary and in many cases worthless medicine. As Harvey Young points out in the epilogue to *The Toadstool Millionaires*, more money is being made today in medical quackery than in any "other criminal activity."

While criminal is perhaps too harsh a term to apply to some of the nostrum makers whose wares are so lavishly depicted on television, it is estimated by the A.M.A. that Americans currently spend each year more than $350 million on vitamin pills — something that few of them need but many of them buy on the ground that it costs only a few cents a day to be on the safe side. They also waste a good portion of the $260 million spent on laxatives and patent medicines, the $250 million spent on arthritis and rheumatism remedies and somewhat less of the $68 million spent on aspirin. The more obvious types of quackery, such as the peddling of magnets, packets of uranium ore, condensed sea water and other nostrums guaranteed to cure any and all diseases, is not as lucrative as it was before federal regulation, but it still brings in hundreds of millions of dollars. It is estimated that some $50 million will be spent in 1961 for cancer cures, much of it by people who only think they have cancer. They will write many thankful testimonials to the quacks who they believe saved their lives.

There is obviously a difference between large-scale, but borderline, quackery as sponsored by several nationally known firms that sell products of some value (vitamin pills and laxatives), and the full-blown quack, offering a cure for anything the customer may think he has. The large companies can be somewhat controlled by the Federal

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Trade Commission (FTC) or the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), but even allegedly reputable ones seem to test how far they can exaggerate the benefits of their products without providing the government agencies with sufficient evidence to indict them for misleading or fraudulent advertising. Often the advertising campaign is over before the government can act; if it goes into court, it may be attempting to prevent something that no longer prevails. Even when the commission wins its case, the offender need only stop making his claims; there are no sanctions. To prevent such misleading campaigns in the future, the FTC has indicated that it will attempt to make wider use of its injunctive powers, but even so, favorable legislation is necessary if it is to act more efficiently. The prospects for such legislation are anything but bright if the historical evidence brought out by both Carson's *One for a Man, Two for a Horse* and Young's book are any indication. Perhaps typical of the difficulties is the case of Carter's Pills, which used to be known as Carter's Little Liver Pills. According to *The Medicine Show,* the FTC issued a complaint against the manufacturers in 1943, charging that the use of the word liver was misleading since the pills, a mild laxative, had nothing to do with that organ. It was not, however, until 1959 that the government won its point and the word liver was eliminated from the name and advertising. During the decade and a half that the case was in the courts the makers of the pills continued the claims for their nostrum which the government said was misleading.

IN THE CASE of more dangerous and cruelly disillusioning nostrums, such as the Hoxsey cancer treatment, the difficulties are as troublesome. As Young points out, Harry Hoxsey, even though repeatedly convicted for practicing medicine without a license, was able to vend his various remedies with little interference. In 1936 he set up a clinic in Dallas, where he promised cancer victims a painless cure without the use of surgery, X-ray or radium. After giving his prospective patients a superficial examination, usually without even taking a biopsy, he made his diagnosis and prescribed blackish brown or red liquids containing such ingredients as sugar, red clover blossoms, prickly ash bark, pepsin, burdock, licorice, potassium iodide and other substances equally remote from the cure of cancer. Hoxsey charged his patients $400 plus fees and expenses for his treatment. The FDA was at first powerless to intervene, since Hoxsey was careful not to ship his medicines across state lines; but in 1948, the Supreme Court interpreted the labeling provisions in the federal law broadly enough for the agency to attempt a suit. The district court refused at first to grant an injunction against Hoxsey, but was eventually overruled by a higher court. Despite federal efforts, it was not until 1960 that the Pennsylvania Hoxsey Cancer Clinic (a branch office opened up after the legal action had started) was closed and the operations of the Dallas clinic were enjoined from ever again selling the medications comprising the Hoxsey treatment. Hoxsey himself was ordered to stop sharing directly or indirectly in the profits of the Dallas operation. The case is still not closed, however, for in January and April of this year, as the editors of *The Medicine Show* report, the government seized samples of the Taylor treatment, a successor to Hoxsey.

A point which Young ably documents and which Carson's book well illustrates is that extra-legal medical practitioners have been quick to seize on every new scientific achievement as a means of promoting their nostrums. Magnetism, electricity, botany and chemistry have been popularized by various quacks as scientific breakthroughs in these fields captured the public imagination. When microbes were being discovered in the nineteenth century by Pasteur and others, William Radam of Texas was prompt to enter the field with an all-encompassing microbe killer. Radam's nostrum was 99 per cent water, and the balance was innocuous. It none the less captured the imagination because it seemed to take advantage of the latest scientific discoveries. It is perhaps not surprising that modern quacks reap a bountiful harvest in this era of penicillin and sulfa.

IN ADVERTISING terms, quackery has always been a hard sell. It was the mainstay of newspaper revenue in the nineteenth century and many papers accepted quack ads regardless of their claims. In fact, newspapers often became the biggest lobbyists against any legislative reform in the area of patent medicines. The ideal nostrum calls for inexpensive ingredients, a distinctive bottle or box and lots and lots of advertising. Dudley Joseph LeBlanc, who pyramided Hadacol into a multi-million-dollar fortune, assigned some $15 million to advertising each year. Carson reports that LeBlanc's advertisements

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were highly original and ingenious; included among them would be the Hadacol Good Will Caravan, started in 1950, with Mickey Rooney, Chico Marx, Burns and Allen, Carmen Miranda and others. Professor Young is of the opinion that modern advertising techniques are based on the pioneering of the nostrum seller. While television has replaced the newspaper as the chief beneficiary of such advertising, the techniques and claims are the same. Only recently, the FTC charged that Anacin, Bufferin, Bayer Aspirin, Bayer Aspirin for Children and St. Joseph Aspirin were making misleading claims in their television struggle for which one would give the fastest relief.

Most of the "healers" attempt to act as men of the people, even after they have made their "toadstool" millions, a phrase which Young attributes to the elder Oliver Wendell Holmes. Too often the quack can play on the subsurface antagonisms which many Americans feel for the A.M.A. or even for the family doctor. The political stands of the A.M.A. in other fields have probably hindered its efforts to combat quackery. Many quacks successfully picture themselves as being persecuted by an all-powerful medical association or its allies.

Professor Young, chairman of the Department of History at Emory University in Georgia, is to be congratulated for his valuable history of the patent-medicine field; he should be encouraged to proceed with the detailed study of the more recent quacks only hinted at in his epilogue. Gerald Carson's work is a valuable supplement to that of Young, since it draws heavily upon Carson's own valuable collection of prints illustrating quackery. The effectiveness of advertising comes through clearly from the illustrations. Both books establish the background for the more contemporary data of *The Medicine Show* (also available as a paper-bound book). There is nothing wrong with a little self-doctoring; in fact all the physicians I know would encourage it. *The Medicine Show,* however, gives advice about how far one can safely go, and supplies as well a surprising amount of information about current nostrums. All three books point to the need for further regulation, both on the state level, as has recently been done in California, and on the national level through the Kefauver drug bill or similar measures. Opium is no longer concealed in patent medicines, and good rye whiskey is no longer disguised as a tonic in order either to avoid the alcohol tax or to inebriate the teetotalers; but we still have a long way to go before quackery becomes one of the less rewarding American free enterprises. As Young says in conclusion, the Scurvy Water of the seventeenth century, the Chinese Stones of the eighteenth, and the Microbe Killers of the nineteenth, are antiquated curiosities only under those names. Their makers and their victims are, as it were, still alive to cast a shadow on the medical brilliance of our own day.

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Background to Crisis

A SHORT HISTORY OF NORTH AFRICA. By Jane Soames Nickerson. Devin-Adair. 252 pp. $4.50.

Desmond Stewart

AFRICA MINOR is a vital area in any war, hot or cold, between East and West. But to write a short history (250 pages) of such an expanse of space and time (the Tassili wall paintings in the Sahara are provisionally dated at 8000 B.C.) is impossible; Jane Soames Nickerson has produced a convenient background book in which many issues are clarified while the bolder problems are left unanswered. The author, formerly assistant to Hilaire Belloc, is enamored of the Roman Christian period. Both end papers of her book are identical maps of classical North Africa, so that when she refers to Ifni in the text (and says, see map) one is lost.

The North African *Urvolk* are the Berbers; but Miss Nickerson tells us little of them except, what is illuminating, that they underlay the heresies that made North African Christendom unstable; like the Muslims today, they were the submerged masses of the Roman Empire. But *who* were they? Racialism is out of fashion since the death of Hitler, who claimed the Berbers as a lost Aryan people, like the Kurds. But is their language Indo-European?

I surmise that the author is not at her strongest in linguistics. Her spelling of "Coranic" is a giveaway, taken from French; in English, Koranic would be acceptable, Qur'anic pendantic. She pays tribute to Ibn Khaldun, who could dispute with St. Augustine the claim to being the greatest North African, but she does not seem familiar with his work. At least she fails even to summarize his masterly interpretation of history as the conflict between the settled and the nomadic. She states that little is known of the Muslim conquest, since the Muslims were too busy to record the history they were making, but cannot help writing:

> There appeared upon African soil these militant warriors from Arabia, the Sons of the Prophet, inspired in a religious fury which was to burn up all opposition in a white heat of fanaticism. They went through the old Roman provinces like a flame, scorching and destroying all existing culture. . . .

No evidence is given for this. Recent research tends to show that where Islam spread so fast it was not (at this time) in anything resembling a "fury"; the suddenness of the conversions, as in Egypt and Syria, was due to the appeal of a democratic, uncomplicated new faith to masses of peasants on whom Christian sexual teaching had been a strain and on whom Byzantine taxation methods had been onerous. Islam's god was basically near enough to the god of the Christian heresies for the conversion to be as painless as, say, the conversion from Methodism to Mormonism in the United States.

YET shortage of space, excluding room for nuances, accounts for these inevitable deficiencies, or areas of dispute. The qualities of the book outweigh them. For one thing, it is pleasantly written in an unpedantic and yet intriguing style. A student of contemporary affairs will also find an unusual objectivity in the sections of the book dealing with the modern period. Miss Nickerson (whom one assumes to be as Francophile as the late Mr. Belloc) pays tribute to the skill with which France organized her North African colonies; at the same time, the atrocities and injustices which accompanied the organization are not concealed. The book is

DESMOND STEWART is a British journalist now living in Egypt. He is the author of Turmoil in Beirut; *his novel,* The Men of Friday, *has just been published in England.*

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not written for assassins of either extreme, and that is a merit.

In the Roman past, North Africa was the southern part of Europe. Later, travel from the coast to Fez was as hard as in Nepal, and twice as dangerous. Now Africa Minor plays a new role: the link between southern Africa and the outside world; a possible petrol fountain to rival Kuwait; and certainly an area where the West will be judged by the nonaligned nations. Every day that Algeria remains under the *paras* is a gain to those who hate the West and its liberal tradition.

ARCHITECTURE

Walter McQuade

THE BEST comment I've heard about the new wiggle-shaped Summit Hotel at Lexington Avenue and 51 Street in Manhattan is strictly nonprofessional: "It's too far from the beach." There is no doubt that this building is a prime example of the Miami Beach style, creeping North. That should come as no surprise: the architect for the Summit, Morris Lapidus, is a New York practitioner, but for years he has functioned as the designer-laureate of the sandy strip Carl Fisher created east of Miami, always-always land, where the loud-speakers in the palm trees even now are probably playing Christmas carols and where the bellboys are meeting the morning elevators downstairs, bearing trays of free glasses of orange juice (frozen). But where, this year, there is no startling new Lapidus hotel to eclipse all the previous astonishments. Instead, the Summit has grown in the shadow of the glum old Waldorf-Astoria, and Lapidus is also at work across town on a hotel for burgeoning Seventh Avenue in the fifties.

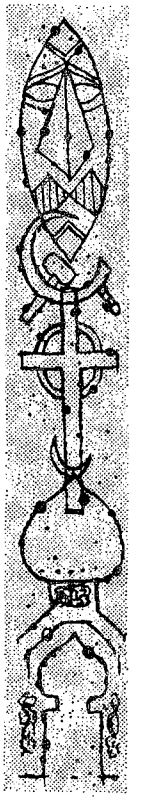
He is an interesting architect with a strange specialty—bad taste. His justification is that his buildings put people at ease, even make them happy, and he may well be right. By standards of commercial success, he certainly is right.

At any rate, he is the architect who can best inhale the sweet smell of excess and build it a monument. When other architects try to design in his flashy style, they miss the essence that Lapidus uncannily captures. His rivals would give a lot to know just how he goes about it. My guess is that, at home with pipe and slippers on a Sunday, he takes the fat, flabby real estate section of *The New York Times* and carefully scrutinizes the display advertisements for those wonderfully garish split-level houses in the Long Island developments. These lavish frame and fancy hutches are real folk art. They have, or at least they advertise, everything, whipped together in an architectural Waring blender, poured onto a full ⅓ acre, and served up with 3⅔ full baths.

Architect Lapidus' talent is such that, Monday at his office, he can distill down these newspaper-ad dream clouds and reproduce their essentially escapist lure in really large buildings. These, in their turn, will decorate the front page of the Sunday travel section of the *Times*. They are the biggest split-levels in the world. Designing them seems easy, but it requires a certain genius to project a domestically scaled dream onto a city block front. One of the methods seems to be to make the building a deliberately diverting shape, as Lapidus did at the Summit. Another method, especially used in interiors, is to fracture large surfaces into small spaces by using many different finishing materials almost side by side. It is generally agreed in the trade that Lapidus must cultivate the materials salesmen almost as assiduously as they certainly cultivate him. The lobby of his epic, wide-screen design for the Fontainebleau Hotel in always-always land may represent the zenith of this practice; it looks as though he had loaded a shotgun with one finish after another and shot them at the columns.

THE architects native to Miami Beach are themselves an exuberant lot, not much given to severity in design, but Lapidus long ago took the large-hotel field away from them, and with the Fontainebleau he demonstrated exactly how. His Southern colleagues are awed or amused, more than they are bitter, perhaps because the fees for designing Miami Beach hotels are not high. A couple of years ago, on a business trip South, I was met at the Miami airport by an architect friend who drove me to town, commenting on changes since my previous visit. These included the addition of a new building in Miami proper which on its street floor had an architects' samples showroom — the same kind of place as the ground floor of 101 Park Avenue in New York, where manufacturers of building products show their wares in rented booths. I asked my friend if the showroom was successful and he shrugged: "Well, they're getting a pretty good start, but it will be a long time before they can match the lobby of the Fontainebleau."

So the New York architects' samples showroom may finally have some competition, now that Lapidus, the genius of hotel gaiety, is finding commissions to exercise his talent at home. Soon, perhaps, we shall know whether a tropic sun leaning on the white sands is essential to sustain this manic architecture, whether a New York winter may not drive it desperate and dreary. It is entirely possible that loud-speakers in the palm trees are an indispensable part of the act.



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ART

Max Kozloff

AT Staempfli and Poindexter till December 2, are paintings by Nick Carone and Robert Natkin, respectively. They are both solid, well-planned and exhibited affairs, with a profusion of work in all formats that indicates a great deal of intense and versatile effort on the part of both artists.

Though related to the rhetoric of Abstract Expressionism, Carone's canvases have the rare ability to speak tartly and sensitively for themselves. They demonstrate that one need be neither reluctant nor academic about the familiar "action" program, even at this late date, in order to establish some kind of meaningful relation to it. All the devices we have come to accept, and then to grow rather weary of as they have been repeated by camp followers and amateurs (spatter, drip, huge blocks of color, broad, gestury scumbles), Carone employs without any innocence whatever. But less than to the doctrinaire, he moves toward a most private and fluid kind of expression.

Eclectic it is, to be sure. Reminiscences of Arshile Gorky, Hans Hofmann, De Kooning (especially his brilliant draftsmanly work of 1945), and Philip Guston mingle about very nimbly. Carone, however, extrapolates from his sources, reverently and yet freely, with little trace of mechanical, gimmicky flattery. In fact, he seems to choose those elements among his forebears which are particularly hard to put together, and he achieves some recombinations, for instance of Hofmann's picture construction with Guston's delicacy (or vice versa, if he wants to), which are attributes of real taste. The activity we call taste is, I think, Carone's distinction, for its animation separates him from a host of apparently similar colleagues, such as those at the Guggenheim, who are far more gymnastic, but perceptibly more tired.

But the first and last sensation Carone gives you is color. It is entirely his own, and upon early contact, will probably seem aberrant. He has an orange and a medium dull green, which he sometimes sets off with peaches, whites and grays. Occasionally there is a muddy brown and a strange cold earth red. They are so combined as to be unrelated with one another, and the spectator constantly is made aware of huge areas of the palette that are not called into play at all. But the harmonic gaps between each color choice are very uneven, unpredictable, and for this reason, when repeated from work to work, become a new act of will. In addition, these arbitrarily shrill relationships are relieved by opulent surfaces: wet on wet translucencies, slurpy squirts, and tacky, adhesive-looking passages alternating with foamy, lacy areas. With such a nervous surface activity, albeit a rather conventional one, Carone can distract attention from the merely limiting aspects of his color, and transpose it into just the unresonant, unresolved statement he needs. Over-all, the effect is of a supremely natural executant who has turned himself into an offbeat, choked-up, but still effective, colorist.

There is something a little sad in this. Because Carone is more than a competent painter, he finds no facile disposition of the forces at his disposal. From canvas to canvas, each somewhat unfinished, one discovers a low-keyed personal struggle that aspires to work itself back to the tentativeness of original creation. I am not at all sure how long he can keep his poise in being off balance, or maintain the kind of perverse tenderness he insinuates into a number of the current works. Meanwhile, I am grateful for these alkaline-acid presences; I enjoy the worried and sulky way in which they try to begrudge the eye.

IF PAINTINGS could talk, Robert Natkin's would no doubt welcome every viewer lavishly and benevolently. Their colors have a radiant smile, and the forms exert an authority, even monumentality, which, however, encourages rather than rejects the viewer's approach. These sometimes mammoth canvases are neither hurried nor nervous in their excitement, and one feels that the whole range of Natkin's perceptions, hyper-stimulated though they are, is calmed by its great pictorial scaffolding. There is no exterior sign of struggle, but his work is none the less dualistic. Sensuous experience he values more than anything else, but it has become so intense that it permeates his intelligence as well as his senses. And, like some internal governor, his very precise method of construction in verticals and horizontals indicates not only that he experiences, but, finally, that he also knows *what* he experiences. Carone has to work from a slightly sickened intelligence back to sensation; Natkin, on the other hand, has learned how to hold firm the wealth of his sensations by intelligence.

A particularly French note is struck by this relationship between sight and process, and it would be hard to deny that Natkin has seen Matisse, Delaunay and Bonnard, or felt the impact of even older French masters. Then too, Klee, and obviously Rothko, are affectionately remembered. But Natkin's relation to American abstract painting is unproblematical, because not greatly affiliated, and the very scope and diffuseness of his pictorial enthusiasms make the game of influence-finding rather foolish.

One of the most interesting ambiguities about these works, once their principal oppositions of tectonic and amorphous, "closed" and open, form are understood, is the interpretation of the gridded bars of different hues that seem sometimes either to be framing smaller variations of themselves, or to march compartmentally along the length of the surface. Their Orphic luminosity inflects a considerable space, shockingly juxtaposing deep and shallow segments against one another. From the idea that light is composed of color, Natkin shifts to the revelation that color, be it orange, red, viridian or citron, has a light of its own, which, of course, may advance or recede. Space in Carone's work, if there is space at all, comes from his having literally slapped one glob of viscuous paint upon another; but with Natkin, space is more comprehensive because paint does not physically intrude: it is either scraped on or washed in, meaning, in either case, that it is relatively dematerialized. Therefore, one might think of Natkin's posts and sills as some kind of molecular concretions, invented to fulfill inner structural necessities.

Yet this would make them merely abstract elements in abstract painting, an impression that one of his works, "Apollo-September," and eventually several others, certainly tend to contradict. After having electrified the intervals in and out and around one another (with special charges along the perimeters), these posts give evidence of establishing themselves in some vague capacity as objects — perhaps window frames. In this respect, the canvas cited above carries on the most fascinating interplay of interior and exterior existences, with glimpses of an intoxicating landscape viewed through the apertures of a balcony. For one moment, scaling

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and distribution of masses and colors seems to have crystallized into a heat-filled vision of the outer world, and while the next glance might knock it out of optical solution, a pleasurable damage has been done, and the Natkin exhibition verges unexpectedly on assuming an iconography.

But certainly this is not a representational, but a post-representational art, in which there is no quarrel with appearances as such, but no specific hankering after them, or suggestions thereof. Unlike Carone, Natkin derives his sensations from experience, or at least recollection, and not predominantly from other paintings. It follows that his work has a tangential relationship to nature: it is up to, but not required of, the spectator to give some body to these brilliant, filtered screens of light. (One implication here is that Carone is playing an end game, however intriguing, with his current idiom, while Natkin can still find an infinite number of possibilities with his.) I thus prefer to speak of thresholds rather than window frames, hoping by this figurative term to underline the equivocal nature of Natkin's composition.

Conceivably that is why his paintings are so inviting: the irridescent, heavily saturated colors come forward, but their context is eminently penetrable, and draws the spectator inward to an enchantment of chromatic shadows. I could go on, to speak of Natkin's various modes, or of the sweet jazz that results from the meeting of a terrific Jewish hedonism with French *"belle matière."* But my words would do progressively less justice to a gorgeousness that defies explanation.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

NO ART that seeks to thrive on contemporary works alone can long sustain its vitality. Only the American stage lives on a here-today-gone-tomorrow basis. The "$6.90 top" audience does not wish to see plays — only shows.

Off-Broadway is the escape valve. The intrepid and desperate refugees of our stage are concentrated chiefly on revivals. They are usually to be honored more for their effort than for their accomplishment. But I have noticed recently a steady increase of competence.

At the Fourth Street Theatre, David Ross continues his Ibsen cycle with a production of *Ghosts*. A cast headed by Leueen MacGrath (as Mrs. Alving) gives the play a compact and intelligent reading. Ibsen's design (which is brilliant), rather than his mood (which is dense with the gravity and anguish of another time), is made admirably lucid. The performance is not rich; it is clear-cut.

People who call *Ghosts* "dated" because Oswald's disease could now be quickly cured are up-to-date stupid (And even medically speaking, I doubt that hereditary syphilis is subject to treatment by antibiotics). The point of the play is that people who act by rule of thumb, even if the thumb be reputedly God's, injure themselves as well as others — a point translatable into the latest existentialist terminology. It is sufficient in *Ghosts* that its circumstances are true for its environment.

I pause to emphasize this aspect of the play's reception, because the objection to the revival of many old plays is that their problems no longer correspond to present conditions (I have heard this said by people who consider themselves educated.) Thus I was once told that Giraudoux's *Tiger at the Gates* (about the Trojan fracas) was irrelevant because great wars are no longer waged over girls.

O'NEILL'S *Diff'rent* (Mermaid The-

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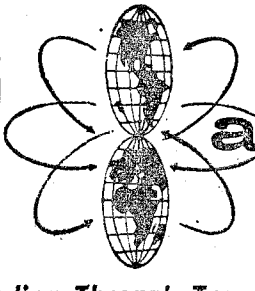

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atre) was written when the playwright was thirty-two. Its theme is old-fashioned only because it is repeatedly restated nowadays in successful movies, popular novels and well-known hit shows. *Diff'rent* exposes the unhappy consequences of romantic Puritanism, or the repression of sexual instincts through an ether-realized idealism, or plain prissiness.

It is a rather crude play — it always was — and yet one is neither irritated nor bored by it. At worst one is inclined to smile, as if the transformation of the 1890 maiden (who conceives of virtue in the manner of a Walter Scott heroine) into the thinly hysterical hot mama of 1920 was intended as satire. One is held, despite the roughness of the writing, the patness of the play's construction, the conventional violence of the conclusion.

One is held because O'Neill's feelings were rooted in his sense of the tragic which, though never intellectually mature, was powerfully personal. It was almost impossible for O'Neill to think about, observe or live through any experience without intense suffering. That is why *Diff'rent*, which might otherwise seem utterly platitudinous by now, still retains a quiver of truth: it is the truth of O'Neill's wounds.

Marian Seldes, under Paul Shyre's sympathetic direction, acts the frustrated girl sensitively (though she has some difficulty in putting on age) and the rest of the cast (Michael Higgins, Robert Drivas and the others) should also be commended.

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A THOROUGHLY pleasant evening is provided by *2 by Saroyan* (East End Theatre). I enjoyed it as I might a concert of modest chamber music, the first part of which is tender and melancholy, the second exhilaratingly loco.

Saroyan is not easy to write about, though his plays are simplicity itself. One cannot speak critically, for instance, of "Talking With You" (the first play on the bill) or of "Across the Board on Tomorrow Morning" (the second) without seeming sappy. Saroyan writes deliciously, but if you quote his plays you risk making him appear infantile or pretentious — and he is neither.

There *is* naïveté: a naïveté so genuine that it dissolves all other faults — including the embarrassment of a certain awkward sophistication. Saroyan has the spirit of a healthy child, trapped in a world far too chaotic and burdensome for him to be at ease. The "child" is really sad, but frisks about, smiles, does little tricks, tries to rouse us to play with him and to reassure us that neither he nor we need feel too bad.

This child has significant nightmares. In one such nightmare evil assumes the form of a murderous dwarf who is an expressionless policeman. In the final moment of "Talking With You," a tiny deaf boy who has run away from home and has lost his last friend and protector whimpers "What's the matter? What's the matter everywhere?"

But the child (Saroyan) cannot long sustain the shock of his dismay: he returns once more to goodness, frolic and sheer tomfoolery — which ring with the laughter of his basic health and basic puzzlement. Unable to understand the world — particularly its discord — he grins wistfully to remind us that somewhere within the turmoil and the tohubohu of our day there remains a certain innocence.

The two short plays are most likably directed by Arthur Storch—"Across the Board" particularly so—while "Talking With You" is lent special warmth through Alvin Ailey's presence as a hapless boxer. Milt Kamen, as waiter and interlocuter in "Across the Board," creates a thoroughly engaging mixture of intellectual *schmalz* with all-American bonhomie. James Broderick is purity personified in long pants. Sam Kressen has a wonderful sort of Bert Lahr face as Callaghan, the proprietor of Saroyan's crazy restaurant, Nicholas Colasanto is an endearingly befuddled cab driver, the two Puerto Rican kitchen helpers are very funny and I appreciated the pretty girls amid the charming wreckage. Let us have more Saroyan.

TEACHERS

(Continued from page 447)

organ, and most of its publications are propagandistic in nature. Lack of funds is hardly a valid reason for all of these deficiencies, perhaps for none of them. To my knowledge, the AFT has never made a research proposal to a major foundation, whereas the NEA has received several hundred thousand dollars in the past few years alone through this means.

Despite these and other weaknesses of the AFT, not to mention its own, the UFT constitutes more than another futilitarian alternative in the election. Its constitution, like that of all AFT locals, includes provisions designed to prevent administrator domination and to preserve its integrity as a teachers' organization. Many UFT leaders realize that what teachers need is not *either* a union *or* a professional association, but an organization that combines certain basic features of both—a professional union, in short. The UFT was chiefly responsible for last June's referendum, in which the city's teachers voted three to one in favor of collective bargaining. The mere fact that the referendum was held, and than an election will be held to select the bargaining agent, reflects favorably on the UFT's determination to get off the organizational dime. Nevertheless, in my view, the rock-bottom argument for the UFT is not so much what it has been or what it is, but the certainty that it now presents the city's teachers with an opportunity to build a strong organization. There is no inherent reason why its weaknesses, and the AFT's, cannot be eliminated.

Nationally, the AFT has been like a desert tribe, devoting most of its energies to a relentless struggle for existence. It has had little surplus energy for more creative tasks. A victory for the UFT could launch both it and AFT into an altogether different plane of existence. Should this happen, the teachers in this country may yet become an important educational and political force in their own right. I do not say this will happen; I do say that it could, it might, and it should.

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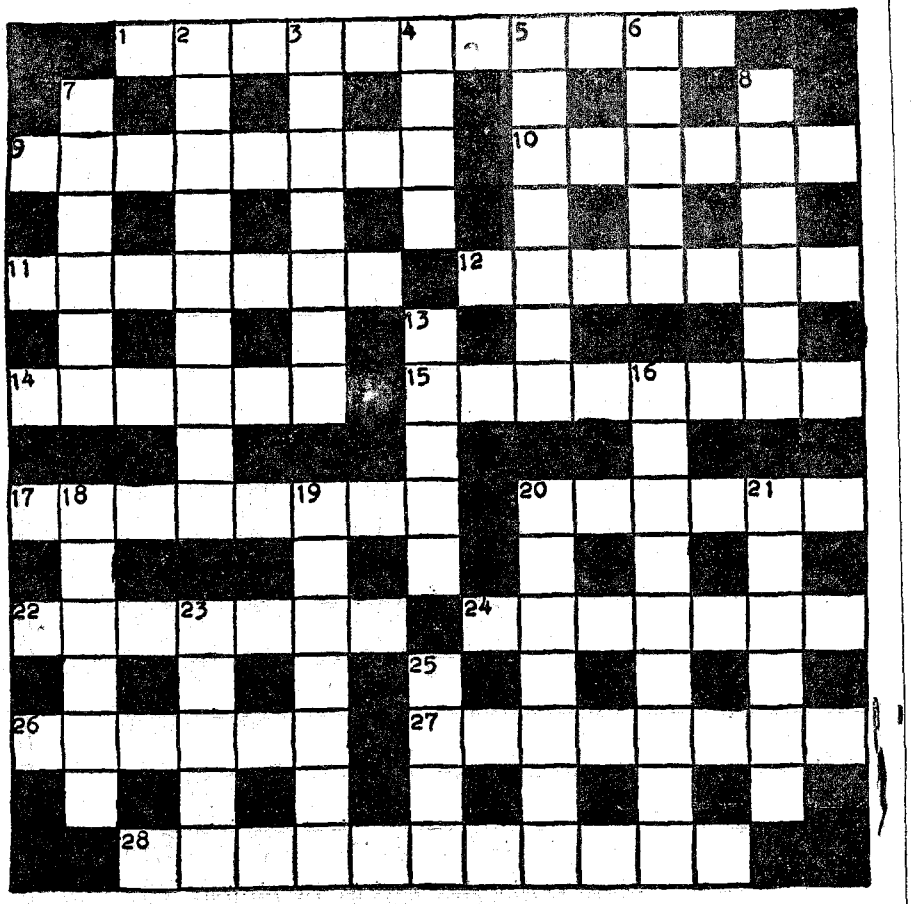
Crossword Puzzle No. 939

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 1 and 8 144 pounds of this are worth 175 25. (11, 6)
9 A hellish type of spinach, according to the classic cartoon. (8)
10 Sleepy-head, like the Irish Mr. Tandy. (6)
11 An unbiased manner certainly wouldn't be rough. (7)
12 The ageless sort we hope to find on board. (7)
14 Leave order, as one might ask of a unit. (6)
15 A number repeat the reader, for a description. (8)
17 The maiden is evidently locked in the tower, as youth is, traditionally. (8)
20 Were Mary and Charles regular beavers? (6)
22 Their object is to make a touch, though they might work at the border. (7)
24 Exceedingly transitory. (7)
26 A shoulder, perhaps, of the party. (6)
27 Game for those on the circuit. (8)
28 On the surface, preparation is necessary for its striking effect. (6, 5)

DOWN:

2 Certainly not a layman's debts in a substitutional sense. (9)
3 Press time? (4, 3)
4 This old Dutch coin should be enough to get on with the act! (4)
5 Sharp jokester? (7)
6 Choose a jury without an urge to do so. (5)
7 Enfold? (6)
8 See 1 across
13 Do they accidentally change where some of us live? (5)
16 It's a sort of sharp sort of force, and so ecstatic! (9)
18 Starts in wrath, but ends up being conciliatory. (6)
19 Trouble with part of the receiving set? (7)
20 A show of brilliancy. (7)
21 Responsible for give-aways in London or Sheffield. (6)
23 Herb cannot, in Scotland! (5)
25 See 1 across. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 938

ACROSS: 1 Family plot; 6 Afar; 10 Abdomen; 11 Episode; 12 Electric organs; 14 Lame duck; 16 Nassau; 18 Off-white; 22 Differentially; 24 Deterge; 25 Sterile; 26 Made; 27 Three-sided. DOWN: 1 Flagellant; 2 Midterm; 3 Limited warfare; 4 Pontiac; 5 Oregon; 7 Flounce; 8 Rued; 9 Singing waiters; 13 Celery seed; 17 Sainted; 19 Finesse; 20 Ill wind; 21 Breech; 23 and 15 Adam and Eve.

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